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854 times spread under them, clothes used to wipe or clean them, occasional wrappers, etc., have to be washed inside the house. If they were washed in the river or brook, which is the customary place for that kind of work, the Isneg firmly believe that the child would die a premature death.

855 291 Later on, when a few years old, the child wears a little dress, whenever possible, and when a girl has attained perhaps her fourth or fifth year, the first piece of the customary Isneg outfit that is given to her is the *kalaŋkáŋ*, a string around the waist, which she wears under her little dress if she has any, and which will be used afterwards to insert the *talút* or G-string. In many cases a boy will be given an ordinary Isneg *bádo* or coat long before he wears the *abág* or G-string. But more of this for some other chapter.

2. *Abnormal Cases*

845 I shall now consider a few extraordinary cases.

Posthumous children, which of course are comparatively rare, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, treated in exactly the same way as other children, and the Isneg do not seem to look upon the matter as anything out of the ordinary.

Nothing special is to be noted with reference to a child who dies in its mother's womb, and with reference to a mother who dies before her child is born; in such cases the Isneg have no means of saving the survivor, and the same rites are observed as in the case of the death of an ordinary adult. A mother who cannot bring forth her child is said to be *matalánān* or *masaltán* (the latter term also means "to be stopped", for instance, a bottle, etc.). The only practice the Isneg resort to in such a case is the *maxaníto*, which is cutomary with any kind of sickness.

847 Voluntary abortion seems to be neither known nor practised. Here of course one is treading upon dangerous ground when inquiring into the matter, but nevertheless it was told me very emphatically by persons whose entire confidence I possessed that such practices were never resorted to. Do not some Isneg at least know about it, and does it not happen occasionally in some spot or another of the extensive Apayaw district? I do not know. It should be taken into consideration though that to the Isneg all children are welcome, and even in the case of a child that would be born out of wedlock, its premature death would not save the girl from the anger of her parents, nor the boy from his duty to marry the girl or to suffer some terrible punish-

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ment, so that as far as I understand the Isneg mind, a living child will result more to the satisfaction of everybody concerned than a dead one. A 847

I just stated that to the Isneg all children were welcome; this should, however, be understood of children who come into the world unaccompanied: twins (*sisin*; also called *nagdappildn*, from *dappil*, "being pressed against one another face to face") are a different matter. Except in the case of the Negritos, I have not met with a single Filipino tribe who had not one or more superstitious beliefs connected with the birth of twins, and in case of pagan tribes worse than that. A 845

While I was living among the Iloko, who have been Christians for many centuries, I heard them say more than once that a woman would not eat a double banana (two in one skin), lest she bear twins; and it often became a matter of jest when a double banana appeared either at the table or otherwise, whenever some young woman, whether married or single, was present. All this goes to show that the Iloko consider that the birth of twins is, to say the least, not a thing to be desired. This is nothing else but the remnant of a former belief, as will be proved presently in the case of the pagan tribes N 845 A 171

In general among the pagan tribes all over the Mountain Province, the natives kill one of twins, and to this rule the Isneg are no exception It is only natural that in many instances this custom tends to disappear, as the natives have to reckon with the vigilance of the authorities, but nevertheless the custom is still there, and it is a very deep-rooted one. I know of only two cases of living twins among the Isneg and they came to my notice only very recently, whereas I know positively that the custom of killing one of twins exists at least in the municipal district of Conner and in that of Kabugaw, while there is no reason to believe that it does not exist actually, or at least did not exist originally and until recently, among the inhabitants of the other municipal districts. A 845 171

In the municipal district of Conner, pagan girls who had received a superior education told us freely that in case they gave birth to twins they would never allow both children to live. In the municipal district of Kabugaw not so long ago a male child, one of twins, was killed at Alumani, and I know of a similar case in another locality.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the infant is buried alive immediately after birth; this was told me by my informants, and so it happened in the Alumani case. Either of the two may be chosen A 847 845

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847 as the victim; the first as well as the second may be considered as the
845 unwelcome guest.

The question is to know why the Isneg kill one of twins. This is no easy matter to ascertain. In general, direct inquiries bring no result and throw no light on the subject; most of the time even the practice itself is flatly denied. This happened, among others, in the case of two of my informants who stated that a woman who partook of a double fruit (two bananas in one skin, two betel nuts in one husk, etc.) would give birth to twins, in which they agreed with the Ilоko, as has just been explained. Both at first denied that the Isneg ever killed one of twins, and even cited the example of two young men, still alive and actually dwelling at Aligawa. When the Isneg see no way out and realize that you know all about the matter, they usually state that they kill one of twins because they are ashamed, and here they probably tell the truth. One informant told me that they did so lest they should have to feed two children at a time, and another one said that if both children were allowed to live, the whole family would die.

In so far as I know the Isneg, I believe the question of having to feed two children at a time to be a small matter, and in this I see no reason for killing one of twins, at least in every case; besides, this does not explain why an Isneg should feel ashamed at such an occurrence; so the explanation must be sought elsewhere. There is also no connection, even in the eyes of an Isneg, between being ashamed and danger of death; so, even allowing that the fear of dying may be one of the reasons for k lling one of twins, some more plausible reason should be sought after in order to explain the shame conceded by the
[848] generality of Isneg to be connected with the birth of twins. I believe I struck the right answer when one of my informants told me very confidentially that one of the two was considered to be the unlawful offspring of some other man, not the child of its mother's husband. In such a case of course there is every reason for both husband and wife to feel ashamed about the whole affair. But much may be said against this explanation; so now I shall try first to answer all objections, and then to give my own idea about the whole custom and the reason given for the same.

842 It should be stated once for all that there is no question of ascrib-
845 ing one of twins to intercourse of the mother with some spirit or ghost; that any Isneg should entertain such an idea was denied most categorically by all my Isneg informants: both infants are always considered as children of woman by man.

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

——The following morning the people of the settlement cried with joy when they found Delafigan's body in his house, lying dead. 000

HOW A COUPLE GOT RID OF THEIR CHILDREN

(Bayag River Dialect)

——*Ito nona ñga aldao da mayatawa. Ado da annanoc da ya napubri da ñga tulay.* 847

——In the olden time in Apayao there lived a couple with their ten children. This family was poor, and the father was tired of his children.

——*Isa pagmaat inayaban na da magdadadac iya ginobat. Kana adayo da iya balay domatang da iya liyang ñga nagimaan da.*

——One bright morning, after breakfast, the father told his five older sons to come with him to the forest so as to take a walk. The five sons were very willing. So they went ahead. When they had gone a long distance from home, they came to a cave where they rested.

——*Ka ni ma tudog da nawayen achan na linobog do. Ta cayat na mamanao agida. Ata cayat na iwagiwaga na da.*

——The intention of the father was to lose his children. He told them to sleep. The children were very tired: so they readily slept. When the father saw that they were sleeping soundly, he noiselessly went home, leaving his children behind.

847 ——*Kani maluhag da natudog gidam men. Ay ackan da pay amo to dalan di nalen da. Toto natudog da amin, agidogan da capagnat.*

——When the children woke up, it was already dark. So they did not know which way to go, as it was so very dark. They slept again and waited until dawn. In the morning they started for home. These children had no hope of reaching home, as they did not know the way and they were very hungry.

——*Ito pagmaat mavay dán ca balay da. Am ackan da amo to dalan. Cana mabisan da paang natay da. To nagkatag da to ama da.*

——In the morning they started for home without knowing the way. They walked and walked until they died of hunger.

——*Cani matay da to ananac da nagpatay da paang. Ata bitig ya pananan da.*

——When the parents knew that they were dead, they were very happy: for they now had few children to support.

WHY THE PEOPLE ARE TATTOOED

304 775 If an old man is asked why his hands are tattooed on the back with the boat pattern, he will give the following account of his future life.

When a person dies his soul, *cadudorsa*, goes to live in a lovely place under the earth. It goes down